1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

once erected on the grave; the names of dead people immediately became *pukimani* on their deaths and could not be used, and the same was true of all the names bestowed by a dead man on the children of his household and all the other words in the language that sounded similar to the name of the dead man.[4] All ceremonials and rituals were *pukimani* as were the main performers and the armlets, neck ornaments, and other ceremonial objects. People in a *pukimani* state had to observe all sorts of avoidances of and abstentions from everyday actions, particularly with regard to food and sex. Close relatives of dead people could not touch food but had to be fed by nonmourners. That pillar of rigid orthodoxy, Tu'untalumi, was virtually never able to feed himself but was in a *pukimani* state almost the whole year round and needed one of his wives to feed him. (Another advantage of a large household.) Certain spots in the bush or on the banks of streams were *pukimani* places; the dimly seen outline of the Australian coast was *pukimani* as was the ocean near Cape Keith where the Tiwi ancestors had first created the Tiwi world; and finally, the violation of a *pukimani* restriction rendered the violator *pukimani*.

Pukimani as thus applied to people, places, things, names, words, restrictions, and avoidances, meant both sacred and taboo, and was clearly one of that widespread class of words and concepts that is almost standard among the simpler societies. The only noteworthy thing about its Tiwi form is that *pukimani* was a state which people did not actively seek to enter but which happened to people regardless of their wishes. Furthermore, when a man found himself in a state of *pukimani*, his behavior was automatically prescribed for him and for the duration of his *pukimani* condition he observed his avoidances and his abstentions just as automatically as he dropped them when his *pukimani* period expired. When he became *pukimani*, he punctiliously fulfilled the requirements because if he did not, he was likely to be unsuccessful in his enterprises. Big men simply did not dare to be casual about the requirements lest their reputations suffer and they lose face and influence. Less successful men were occasionally explained as probably being secret violators. "His wives and daughters all seem to die young; he must have broken some *pukimani* restrictions sometime" was a reason often given for somebody's failure to be as successful as he might have been. It was noticeable in such explanations of nonsuccess that the failure, or in our terms the bad luck, was attributed to the violation of the taboos, never to the active displeasure of the spirits. The spirits simply did not figure in the picture.

Apart from the big ceremonial occasions, a Tiwi did not have much concern with religion in his everyday life except through some aspect of the *pukimani* system. It was only through *pukimani* that the sacred world impinged upon him at all for most of the year. Since *pukimani* was a condition that could not be actively sought but "just happened" to a person every so often by such common events as the death of a relative, his wife giving birth, or his

[4] When a man named Tibuki died in 1928, a crisis occurred at the Mission where the natives were supposed to make their requests in pidgin English. How could they now ask for tobacco, since that word was now *pukimani*?

2: Mountford
773, 778, 776, 821

OI20 Tiwi OI20

[Materials pertaining to these categories will also be found in category 532.]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

773 However, before all these changes took place, *Tukimbini* assembled the mythical people who had attended *Purukupali's* ceremony, and taught them the rules of behaviour, and the laws of marriage and tribal relationship they must always obey. *Tukimbini* also laid down the periods of light and darkness that still determine the daily cycle of aboriginal life.

512 821 [825] When the first light appears in the morning sky it is the melodious call of *Tukimbini*, now the yellow-faced honey-eater (*Meliphaga chrysops*) that wakens the aborigines from their sleep.

The sun-woman, rising above the eastern horizon with her blazing torch, is a signal for the aboriginal men, with spears and wooden clubs, to go hunting, and for the women, with bark baskets hanging from the sticks over their shoulders, to gather their food from the forest and the swamp-lands.

About mid-day, the sun-woman, cooking the food she has gathered, makes the heat of the day unbearable. The aborigines then retire to the shade of the trees until the late afternoon when they continue their food gathering, returning to camp to cook their evening meal just as the sun-woman sinks below the western horizon.

Soon, darkness creeps across the sky, the stars, *tapalinga*, show themselves and the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, span the heavens. It is then that the dried perspiration which the *Maludaianini* rub from their bodies, [512] falls on the eyelids of the aborigines, making them so heavy that they cannot keep awake. Next morning, at dawn, *Tukimbini* wakes the aborigines to a new day.

776 778 The following is the list of the totemic places of Melville and Bathurst Islands, illustrated by bark paintings, the names of the totemic people and their relationships to each other.

Locality	*Totem*	*Relationship*
Murupianga	Tukimbini (bird)	Great-grandson of *Mudungkala*
Wuriupi	Garagalani (turtle)	Not known
	Wuriupranala (sun)	Daughter of *Mudungkala*
Panindu	Paninduela (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Wailu	Andjalui (fresh water)	Husband of *Wuriupranala*
	Kwouk-kwouk (frog)	Not known

2: Mountford E-5 (1954). 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Locality	*Totem*	*Relationship*
	Pakadringa (thunderstorms)	Son of *Kwouk-kwouk*
	Tomituka (monsoon rain)	Daughter of *Kwouk-kwouk*
	Bumerali (lightning)	Daughter of *Kwouk-kwouk*
Pirilou	Piriloukala (catfish)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Arangu	Wuringa (fish)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Jutapinca	Ringa (turtle)	Not known
Wilindu	Wilinduela (crocodile)	Sister of *Tukimbini*
Numanira	Numanirakala (red ochre)	Sister of *Tukimbini*
Rungani	Baraka (spider)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Alaparima	Imburai-inga (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Mandumpi	Timarai-inga (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Patuapuru	Pungulu (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Putawini, Puntubu	Aragoutourina (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Matingalia	Matingalia (eucalyptus tree)	Not known
Turiturina	Puruliangkala (bush fire)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Murninini, Cape Fourcroy, Taliau	Mandubuka (sand-fly)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Milapuru	Milapukala (cockatoo)	Not known
Primadua	Miatrina (pandanus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Primadua	Tililindigia (yam)	Not known
Primadua	Ubuna (yam)	Not known
Mungunu	Inkaka (cockatoo)	Not known
Jurubulinai	Mudungkala (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Rulijunga	Mantinuria (eucalyptus tree)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Arunumpi	Mudati (kite)	Not known
Muranapi	Murungimpili (flying fox)	Not known
Muranapi	Kalalili (bamboo)	Not known[86]
Muranapi	Mandubuka (blow fly)	Wife of *Tukimbini*
Kudjatumpi	March-fly (Kudjatumpi)	Wife of *Tukimbini*

[86] There is little doubt that most, if not all, of the totemic women whose relationships I did not find out, would have been wives or relatives of *Tukimbini*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

×532 821 the sun at mid-afternoon, and the disc on the upper edge, *Wuriupranala* at sunset.

The lighter coloured radiating bands are the lines of light from the blazing bark torch, carried by the sun-woman; the dark-coloured ovals between, a number of *tukimbinis* (yellow-eared honey-eaters), and the lighter coloured ovals, a number of *wuriuprinilis* (mistletoe birds).

In the centre of Pl. 7C, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, seated in her bark hut at Wuriupi. The central dark mark on her abdomen indicates body paint; the white lines, *a*, *a*, are her legs, *b*, *b*, her feet and *e*, *e*, her arms.

The dark-coloured oval, *g*, is the sun-woman's paper-bark hut; the light-coloured outer circle, *d*, is a bough shed built over the hut to keep it cool, and the short radiating lines between the two circles, the posts supporting the roof.

The Eucalyptus-tree Woman, Paninduela, at Panindu

773 The eucalyptus-tree woman, *Paninduela*, created the totemic country of Panindu, north-eastern Melville Island, the streams, fish, turtles, geese and other creatures, as well as water-lilies, spike-rushes and other plants that grow in the freshwater swamps.

778 Panindu is on the upper reaches of an unnamed river in north-eastern Melville Island; Wailu, the totemic place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at the mouth of the same stream.

×532 778 On Pl. 9A, B, *a*, *a*, are the Panindu waterholes; *b*, *b*, waterfalls which flow from upper to lower pools; and *e*, *e*, are lines of foam caused by the falling water. At *t*, *t*, etc., are *pubiaka*, and *u*, *u*, etc., paper-bark trees on the banks of the stream, and at *h*, *h*, and *j*, *j*, dead *pubiaka* and paper-bark trees lying in the water.

Two lagoons, or backwaters, are indicated at *c*, *c*; two sedge-covered swamps at *f*, *g*. Water-grass on the bottom of the swamp is shown by the cross-hatched areas, *s*, *s*.

The Freshwater-man, Andjalui

778 The totem place of the freshwater-man, *Andjalui*, is at Wailu, north-eastern 776 Melville Island. At Wailu there also lived the frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*,[38] her son, *Pakatinga*, the man of the thunderstorms, and her two daughters, *Tomituka*, the woman of the monsoon rains, and *Bumerali*, the woman of the lightning.

[38] Some aborigines thought, but were not sure, that *Andjalui* was the husband of both *Kwouk-kwouk*, and the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Five bark paintings, Pls. 9C, D, 10B, D, 22A, B, and 38B, deal with Wailu and its inhabitants. 532x 778

On Pl. 9C, D, the totemic lagoon, Wailu, is at *a*, the outer circle, *b*, symbolizing the broken water of the stream, *f* (in circle above) as it runs over the stony bed of a watercourse into Wailu. At *d*, *d*, are the paper-bark and *e*, *e*, *pubiaka* trees which grow on its banks.

At *j*, *j* (below), and *s*, *s*, etc., are living paper-bark, and *m*, *m*, and *p*, *p*, etc., *pubiaka* trees on the bank; *n*, *n*, are dead paper-bark and *o*, *o*, *pubiaka* trees in the swamp. The cross-hatched areas throughout the painting symbolise watergrass on the bottom of the lagoon.

Pl. 38B, which is associated with Wailu, deals with the rainbow-woman, *Maratji*, the thunderstorm-man, *Pakadringa*, and the monsoon rain-woman, *Tomituka*. 532x 776

The four black horizontal bands represent the dark-coloured clouds of *Tomituka* (monsoon rain); the lighter-coloured chevrons indicate large cumulus clouds, the home of the man of the thunderstorms, *Pakadringa*; and the darker chevrons are the rainbow-women, *Maratjis*, who live at Maundu.

The Frog-Woman, Kwouk-kwouk, at Wailu

The frog-woman, *Kwouk-kwouk*, lives with her family, *Pakadringa*, *Tomituka*, and *Bumerali*, at Wailu, the totem place of *Andjalui*. 776 778

The three children of *Kwouk-kwouk* always obey their mother, so when, in the wet season, the rain falls and thunderstorms rage, she croaks with joy over their handiwork. No aboriginal would dare to kill a frog; if he were so foolish, her son, *Pakadringa*, and daughter, *Tomituka*, would send down so much rain that everyone would be drowned. 821 825

Pl. 10B deals with the frogs at Wailu. The central black oval is the lagoon at Wailu. At *a*, *a*, are large paper-bark trees which grow in Wailu lagoon, and at *b*, *b*, another species of paper-bark which prefers the drier conditions of the banks. The frogs, which live in the lagoon, are indicated at *c*, *c*, etc.; a water-lily swamp is shown at *d*, *d*, and the white, broken water, running over fallen trees, at *e*, *e*. The groups of dots represent the water-grass, and the faint lines separating them, small streams of running water in an adjacent swamp. 532x 778

Pakadringa, Bumerali and Tomituka at Wailu

During creation times, before *Pakadringa* was transformed into the man of the thunderstorms, he was a hairy giant, huge in size, and repulsive in appear- 776

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

776 ance, with a long black body, short, thick legs and arms, and a pendant abdomen, caused by continuous over-eating.

Pakadringa, with his sister, *Bumerali*, the lightning-woman, her husband, *Kilipatu*, and their many children travel together in the thunderclouds.

776 821 *Bumerali*, the lightning woman, has flaked stone axes, called *rikus*,[84] mounted on long crooked handles, which she carries in either hand. With these, while travelling in the clouds with *Pakadringa*, she strikes the ground beneath, destroying the trees and sometimes the aborigines.[85] *Bumerali* becomes angry when her children jump from cloud to cloud. The sharp crack of the thunder which immediately follows the lightning flash is the voice of *Bumerali*[86] reprimanding her children for their disobedience.

Tomituka, *Pakadringa's* other sister, is the woman of the monsoon rain. At the start of the wet season, the trees and plants become happy when they hear the distant rumblings of *Pakadringa* for they know that *Tomituka* comes with him, bringing rain for their thirsty roots.

x 532 776 821 Pl. 10D illustrates the mythical *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms. The black central oval and the semi-circles at the top and bottom of the painting are the dark-coloured thunderclouds of *Pakadringa*. At *b*, *b*, etc., are white thunderclouds, and *c*, *c*, etc., red-coloured clouds which appear in the sky after a storm has passed. The designs *a*, *a*, etc., indicate the rainbow-women, *Maratji* (p. 154), and the dots on the background, the falling rain.

Pl. 32A, B, deals with the lightning woman, *Bumerali*. Her eyes are indicated at *a*, *a*; her breasts at *d*, *d*; her feet at *f*, *f*; her camps at *k*, *k*; and her nose is at *b*.

The crooked handles of her stone axes are at *c*, *c*, and the "road" of the lightning (the flash) is at *e*.

The upper crescent, *g*, is the thundercloud in which *Bumerali* and her family travel; *h*, a yellow cloud which forms after the storm has passed, *s*, *s*, *s*, are stringy-bark trees, and *n*, *n*, other trees killed by *Bumerali's* axe;

[84] Some of my informants said that the axes of *Bumerali* were made of a white stone which she had picked up at Moonga Hill, north of Turiturina, western Bathurst Island, where, I was told, there is an outcrop of quartz. Others said she made the axes from a white stone found in the upper world, Tuniruna, p. 171.

[85] There is a widespread belief throughout Europe, Asia, Africa and some of the Indonesian Islands, that the prehistoric stone axes, found by the peasant people, were thunderbolts (Mountford, 1955, p. 1). At Oenpelli (Mountford, 1956, p. 208) a lightning man, *Mamaragan*, carries stone axes on his hands and knees. With these axes he strikes the ground. It is of some interest to find the myth of such a widespread belief among the Australian aborigines. [171]

[86] The aborigines distinguish between the sharp crack of thunder (the voice of *Bumerali*) and the rumble of distant thunder, that of *Pakadringa*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

a, *o* (the black areas), indicate stony hills near her camp in the upper world; and the dots on the background, the stars, *tapalingas*, which live in the upper world with the lightning woman.

The Cat-fish Woman, Piriloukala at Pirilou

Pirilou, on the upper Goose Creek swamps, is the totemic place of a mythical cat-fish woman, *Piriloukala*. She was sent by *Tukimbini* to create both the totemic country and the food necessary for the natives to live on it, i.e., geese, brolgas, ducks, freshwater goannas, turtles, waterlily bulbs, red and white fruited *Eugenia* trees, and the various kinds of yams that prefer the damp soil.

On Pl. 10c, the darker crossed circles are the black, and the lighter, the white rocks at Pirilou. Panels, such as *a*, symbolize the trunks of the paper-bark trees growing in the swamp; *b*, the many waterlilies on its surface, and the white vertical lines on the background, streams of fresh water in the swamp-lands.

The Fish-woman, Wuringa, at Arangu

Tukimbini sent the fish-woman, *Wuringa*, to establish a camp at Arangu, in Curtis Haven, northern Melville Island. Later, *Wuringa's* camp was transformed into a group of flat rocks which are uncovered only at low tide.

Wuringa created the aboriginal foods of the area, turtles, crabs, fish of all kinds, yams, cabbage palms and hives of wild honey.

Two bark paintings illustrate Arangu and its surroundings, Pl. 11c and Pl. 11d.

On Pl. 11c, *a*, is a long submerged reef at Arangu; *d*, *d*, *d*, smaller submerged rocks; *b*, *c*, long sand-bars, while at *e*, *e*, are jelly fish. The remainder of the ovals are oysters on the rocks at Arangu.

On Pl. 11d, *a*, is the totemic place, Arangu; *b*, represents the soft friable boulders near by; *c*, a large rock on the coast; *d*, wave breaking over it; *h*, white sand on the beach, and *j*, the sand and gravel on the sea bottom.

Symbol *e*, indicates black trepang; *f*, *f*, white trepang; *r*, an especially large trepang; *n*, a jelly fish, and *m*, a bed of oysters. At *k*, are many pearl shells, and at *s*, *s*, conch shells. A deep channel in Curtis Haven is indicated at *p*, a yellow rock under the water, at *o*, and the seaweed growing on the rocks at Arangu, by the lighter-coloured dots on the background.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
QI20 Tiwi QI20

The black oval in the middle of Pl. 13A is a mark on the spider-woman, whose body is indicated by the central oval.

The irregular oval *a*, is her abdomen, and *b*, *b*, is her thorax. At *c*, *c*, are her legs; *f*, *f*, etc., the hairs on her legs, and *d*, *d*, etc., her many knees and elbows. Semi-circles *h*, *h*, and the dotted sections, are spider eggs, and the cross-hatched areas, spider webs.

On Pl. 13C, the central black circle, representing an area of dry land at Rungani, was once the body of *Baraka*, and the surrounding lighter-coloured circle, the egg-case of the spider. The central square is the totemic place, Rungani, the radiating lines within the square being the legs of the spider.

The barred horizontal and vertical panels *a*, *a* (once roads made by the spider-woman as she travelled to and from her totemic place in search of food), are now high, red cliffs, and the diagonal panels leading from the central squares, additional tracks made by the spider-woman. These tracks have since been transformed into watercourses. The eight black concentric circles symbolize the daughters of *Baraka* and *Tukimbini*, and the dotted panels the legs of the children. The chevron designs indicate the faeces of both the spider-woman and her daughters.

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Imburai-inga, at Alaparima

Pl. 13B, D, pictures the totemic place of a eucalyptus-tree woman, *Imburai-inga*, at Alaparima, north-western Melville Island.

This totemic place, *d*, *d*, is on the sea-beach, with high cliffs, *e*, to the north, and jungle trees, *f*, *f*, near by. At *h*, on the left-hand edge of the painting, is the island, Purapundili (Fig. 1), one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pitipitais*.

Rocks, near the shore at Piper Head, are indicated at transverse panel, *g*; and a small rocky island, with trees growing along its shore is at *j*. The long design, *k*, at the bottom of the painting, represents the Apsley Straits, which separate Melville and Bathurst Islands.

The oval, *n*, is the aboriginal locality, Punata, in Apsley Straits, which is near the old military settlement of Fort Dundas, *m*.[28] Designs around the edge of this section are trees on the high land, while at *p*, on the bottom of the drawing, are trees on the shore.

The two crescents, *o*, *o*, which practically encircle Punata (*n*), are aboriginal roads; *a*, *a*, etc., are turtles; *b*, *b*, etc., dugongs, and *c*, *c*, etc., dug-out canoes.

[28] Established in 1824, abandoned in 1828.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The Eucalyptus-tree woman, Mudungkala,[48] *at Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island)*

773 After the burial of *Purukupali*, *Tukimbini* sent his wife, *Mudungkala*, to Jurubulinai (Buchanan Island) to establish a totemic place and create the local foods.

*532 Pl. 19c, D, illustrates, with considerable detail, the topography of the island and the home of the little spirit children, *Pitipituis*.

778 The central design, *a*, is Jurubulinai; circle *b*, (lower left) depicts a small island nearby on which there is a freshwater spring where *Mudungkala* once urinated; and circle *c* (lower right) is a bed of cockles, one of the local foods created by the mythical woman.

On the lower left, a crescent, *d*, symbolizes a small salt-water creek in a mangrove swamp where *Mudungkala* quenched her thirst. At *f*, there is a large rock in the deeper water, a favourite haunt of the turtles. Here the mythical woman once collected white ochre to decorate herself.

Boulders, at one time the stone axes, *mungwanis*, of *Mudungkala* are at *e* (bottom); a stony point of land, the transformed bark basket, is at *g*; a pile of red rocks (her camp fire), at *h*; a sandbar (the cycad palm under which *Mudungkala* sheltered), at *j*; and a salt-water swamp (where she ground her stone axe), at *k*, *k*. The passage between Jurubulinai and Bathurst Island is indicated by the horizontal bands, *ll*, *ll*.

The white crescent, *m*, at the top of the painting, a large sand-bar, Unakumba, on the south of the island, is one of the homes of the spirit children, the *Pitipituis*. The aborigines claim that, when some distance from [776] Unakumba, they often see the spirit children, but, as they come closer, the little people disappear.

When the tide is out, the *Pitipituis* play on a sandbar, *p*, but when it is covered, the spirit children go to their camps at *o*, under the sand, where everything is dry and warm.

[787] Should one of the spirit children wish to visit an aboriginal man in a [842] dream, to ask for a mother, it walks along the road, *q*, and, if unsuccessful in its quest, returns by road, *r*. At *s*, on the left-hand side, is the waterhole from which the *Pitipituis* obtain their drinking water, and at *t*, is their diminutive bark canoe, less than a yard long, which, like the spirit children themselves, can be seen at a distance, but disappears when the aborigines come closer.

Red stones, *ee*, and yellow stones, *dd* (right), were once body paint used by the mythical eucalyptus-tree woman. Her nautilus-shell ornament is at *v*;

[48] Locally known as the ironwood tree.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

773 881 of the *kulama* ceremony, became the boobook owl, his wife, *Pinuma*, the barn owl, *Jurumu*, the wedge-tailed eagle, *Jirakati*, the white-headed sea-eagle, *Tupatupini*, a small owl, and so on.

(2) *The Second Kulama Ceremony*

After the close of *palaneri* times, the *Ningauis*, a spirit people, who had been present at the first *kulama*, performed a second ceremony on the same island, Turiturina, as was used by *Purutjikini* during the creation period. On the second occasion, the *Ningauis* carried out the complete *kulama*, which included not only the preparation of the poisonous *kulama* yam for food, but also the performance of all the grades of initiation from that of the *Marukumuni* to the *Mikingula*.

At its completion, the *Ningauis* decreed that the form of the ceremony with its proceeding and initiation rituals, should always be the same. The [753] aborigines believe that if this form is altered, a mysterious sickness, called *saini* will punish them by making everyone ill.

(3) *The Myth of the Ningauis*

After the second *kulama*, the *Ningauis* made their home in the mangrove swamps of a small island, Imaluna, near Cape Helvetius, south-western Bathurst Island (Fig. 1).

● 776 The *Ningauis* are somewhat like the present-day aborigines, except that they are small people, about two feet high, with long hair and very short feet, their footmarks resembling those of an oversized dog. The aborigines often see these tracks on the edge of the mangrove swamps of Imaluna (Pl. 22c).

Should an aboriginal, when hunting through the swamps, go too near a home of the *Ningauis*, one of the *Ningauis* by calling, "Eeh", would cause the whole place to be suddenly enveloped in complete darkness. The native could bring the light back again by striking the trunk of a mangrove tree with a stick, but, in the meantime, the *Ningauis*, by taking advantage of the darkness, would have sneaked away. Therefore, no aboriginal has seen a *Ningaui* even though they are often heard in the mangrove swamps calling "Eeh, eeh", to each other.

When the *Ningauis* chant their songs after dark, the mangrove swamps become as brightly lit as in the day-time. There are stories of how aboriginal hunters, lured by the songs and the light, have wandered among the tangled mangroves to see what was going on, but as soon as the *Ningauis* heard the intruders, they finished their song with the word "Eeh",[16] which made the

[533] [16] The *Ningaui* songs chanted by *Jibungliahuni*, at one of the *ilanias* of *Waniamperi* (p. 74), all ended with a long drawn-out "Eeh".

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

X 532
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FIG. 10. *The Kulama Ceremony*
A Ningumi in a Mangrove Swamp at Imalumu.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

●776 place so dark, and the trees bend together so closely that the hunters lost their way and died. Some informants stated that the *Ningauis* cast a short throwing stick, similar to a *muruguna*, at all trespassing aborigines, rendering them insensible.

According to my informants, the *Ningauis*, who gather their food only at night, do not, at present, know the way to make fire, although they were able to do so at the time of the second *kulama*. Therefore, the crabs, shellfish and toredo worms they collect from the swamps, and the edible plants from the nearby jungles, have to be eaten raw.

X 532 Two bark paintings and two crayon drawings deal with the *Ningaui* myth. On Plate 22D, the upper space, *a*, is a muddy flat in the middle of the mangrove island of Imaluna. At *b*, is an adjacent jungle; at *c*, a stream of fresh water nearby, and at *d*, *e*, are large dead eucalyptus trees lying in the water. At *f*, and *g*, are two pandanus trees; at *j*, *j*, salt-water creeks in the mangrove swamps; at *k*, *k*, etc., is the sea-shore at the mouth of those creeks, and cross-hatching at *m*, *m*, etc., the mud at the base of the mangrove trees. The squares, *h*, *h*, *h*, *h*, are the camps of the *Ningaui* people.

Plate 22C illustrates the footprints of the *Ningaui* in the swamps at Imaluna. The horse-shoe shaped designs are marks made in the mud by the front of the feet and toes, while the irregular circles, show the prints of the heels. The toe-marks are usually yellow and the heel-marks red. The dots are mangrove trees in the Imaluna swamps.

Fig. 10 is the copy of an aboriginal crayon drawing of a *Ningaui* on the mangrove island at Imaluna.

The central figure is a *Ningaui* standing on the roots, *a*, of a mangrove tree, which, in turn, is growing from a pile of rocks, *b*, *b*, *b*. On either side of the central figure are conventionalized mangrove trees, *c*, *c*; the designs on the lower portion represent the marks on the trunk, and on the upper portion, the foliage. At *e*, is a branch, and at *d*, a pandanus palm.

X 532 881 Fig. 11 is a copy of another crayon drawing which illustrates the *Ningauis* holding the second *kulama* ceremony at Turiturina. The oven for cooking the *kulama* yam is at *a*, the dots surrounding it representing the upright sticks which keep the firewood in place.[17] The darker circle is the low mound of earth surrounding the ceremonial ground, on the inside of which a number of men are parading and chanting the *kulama* songs. Symbol *b*, indicates the leader of the *kulama* ceremony.

The symbols in circle *c* are the *Marukumuni* and *Mikinatrina* initiates, who do not take part in those particular rituals, and symbols *d*, in the outside

[17] See Pl. 41A.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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CHAPTER V

The Spirit People of the Tiwi

776 775 The Tiwi believe that a number of spirit people live on the land, in the swamps, the sea and the sky of their tribal country. They are: the *mopaditis* (p. 61), the spirits of the dead whose homes are in the various totemic localities; the *Ninganis* (p. 124) of the mangrove swamps of south-western Bathurst Island; the *Maratjis*, or rainbow people, living in the swamps; the *Pitipituis*, or spirit children, who later become aboriginal children; the sea-dogs, *Wankuis*, of the shallow sandbars of the sea; the *Papinjuwaris*, the meteor-men, who live in a place in the sky, far away to the west, and the *Paramanuas*, who often befriend the aborigines.

Although the aborigines are afraid of the *Papinjuwaris*, the *Maratjis* and, to some extent, the *Mopaditis*, they do not particularly fear the other spirit people.

000 The aborigines of Oenpelli, western Arnhem Land, however, believe that their countryside is inhabited with a multitude of spirit people (Mountford, 1956, p. 181), some dangerous and some harmless. This is unusual in aboriginal Australia, most tribes fearing only the spirits of the dead.

1. THE METEOR-MEN, THE PAPINJUWARIS

776 The *Papinjuwaris* live, with their wives and children, in a large paper-bark hut at Wangidji, a place far away to the west, where the sky ends.

The men, large and heavily built, have only one eye as bright as a star. The aborigines often see a *Papinjuwari* streaking across the sky, a blazing firestick in one hand and a fighting club in the other.

The *Papinjuwaris* are ghoulish people, who, although their food consists of bandicoots and large centipedes (Fig. 12), are always craving for the bodies of the dead and the blood of the sick to satisfy their degraded appetites.

[821] One evening, the aborigines pointed out a brilliant meteor which they said was a *Papinjuwari*; he was taking the body of *Waniamperi*, whose grave was not far from our camp, back to his companions at Wangidji.

753 776 When a *Papinjuwari* hunts for blood, he locates a sick person (by smell), and standing some distance away (they can make themselves invisible) sucks

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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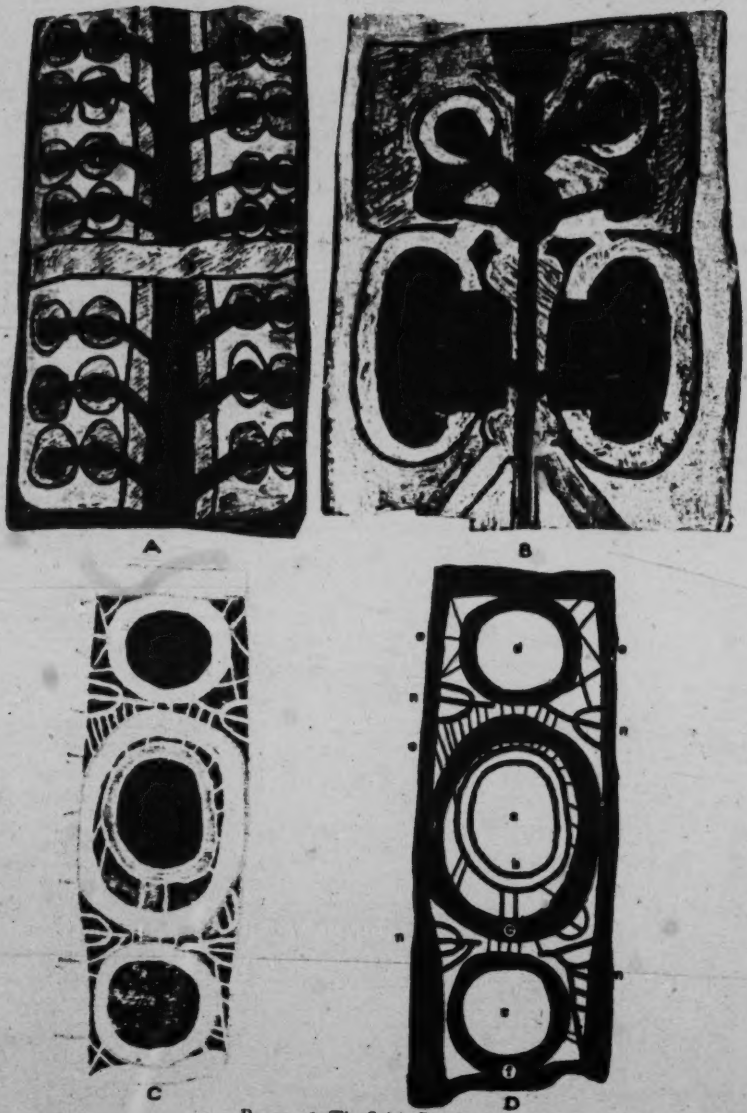

PLATE 46. *The Spirit People*
A, Pitipituis at Wulrungku; B, Pitipituis at Cape Fourcroy; C, D, Pitipituis at Puraguudili and Ungakumbi.

[p. 144 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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blood from the arm of the victim, yet leaves no wound. As the sick person becomes weaker, the *Papinjuwari*, making himself sufficiently small, enters the body through the mouth, and, by drinking up the rest of the blood, kills the victim.

FIG. 12. *The Spirit People*
The Meteor-man, Papinjuwari.

On his return to Wangidji, the meteor-man vomits the stolen blood into a bark container. This provides a drink for the assembled *Papinjuwaris*.

The aborigines stated that, as the Tiwi have no medicine men, they are without protection against these dangerous spirit people.[42]

Pl. 47c is a simple bark painting of the *Papinjuwaris*. The white figures are the ghoulish sky-people, the crescents are moons, and the circles, stars.

Fig. 12 is the copy of a crayon drawing showing a *Papinjuwari*, *a*, inside of his paper-bark hut at Wangidji. On either side of him at *b*, *b*, are the large

[42] Spencer, 1928, p. 671, refers to a song chanted in a *Kulama* ceremony which is supposed to protect the initiates from an evil spirit, the shooting star, *Makinua* (almost certain to be my *Papinjuwari*); Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 282, who call the meteor man, Papinowari, or Lamparapari, state that, if a piece of dried blood of a person is burnt, the smell will attract the meteor-man.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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532X 776 centipedes, *pirioa*, and on the lower right at *o* is a bandicoot. These are the main foods of the *Papinjuwaris*. The outer oval is a line of rocks which surround the home of the *Papinjuwari*; *m*, *m*, are piles of boulders, and designs, *d*, *d*, etc., beach kapok trees, *tjingunia*. This *Papinjuwari* is shown with two eyes, although in the mythical story the *Papinjuwaris* have only one.

3. THE SPIRIT CHILDREN, THE PITIPITUIS

776 The *Pitipituis* are small dark-skinned people who have always existed, even in early creation times, although the aborigines cannot explain their origin. The adults are about nine and the children two to three inches high. They live either on outlying islands, in patches of dense jungle near the seashore, or in those of the freshwater swamps. The *Pitipitui* centres are scattered somewhat evenly around the two islands (Fig. 1); they are:

(1) Kaiadju, on the Baxendale reef, a few miles from Murupianga, S.E. Melville Island. In this locality, the *Pitipituis* have made their home among the trees of a mangrove swamp.

(2) Miadibiniadu, near Wailu, N.E. Melville Island, where the *Pitipituis* live among the dense groves of pandanus palms that grow on the edge of the freshwater lagoon. When the aborigines see the pandanus leaves scattered [824] about, they believe that the *Pitipituis*, in their play, have been throwing them at one another.

(3) Pumaduba, near Pirilou, on the Goose Creek swamps, N. Melville Island. In this locality the *Pitipituis* live among the blossoms and leaves of the water-lilies.

(4) Wulrungku (Karslake Island), N.W. Melville Island. Some *Pitipituis* camp in the jungles along the shore of Wulrungku, and others on the bed of the nearby ocean.

(5) Purapundili, a sandy island off Cape Van Diemen, N.W. Melville Island. During the heat of the day they shelter in the jungles of Cape Van Diemen.

(6) Tiatri-inga, a long beach at Murroo Point (south of Mandumbi), N.W. Bathurst Island. Like the *Pitipituis* at Wailu, those at Tiatri-inga live in the thick clumps of pandanus palms. At Mandumbi, near the mouth of Putawini Creek, a group of *Pitipituis* have made their home in a dense jungle.

(7) Jambutu and Juruna, at the head-waters of Port Hurd, S.W. Bathurst Island. Those at Jambutu live among the mangroves and those at Juruna, in the jungle.

(8) Jampaturui and Jurilupa, near Cape Fourcroy. The *Pitipituis* in the

2; Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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former locality make their camp in a dense jungle, and at the latter, in the forest near the sea-coast. At one time, these *Pitipituis* lived at Juruna, but left after a while and established these camps at Jurilupa and Jamparurai.

(9) Unakumbi (Buchanan Island). Here, the home of the *Pitipituis* is on a sandbank on the southern side of the island. When the tide is low, the little people play on the sandbank, but when it is high, they go to their underground homes, where it is warm and dry.

During the early creation (*palaneri*) times, *Purukupali* visited one or another of the homes of the *Pitipituis* in a bark canoe, brought back some of the little people and gave them to his sisters, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala* so that they could have children. In a later period, *Purukupali* gave the *Pitipituis* to his wife, *Bima*, who in turn presented them to their future mothers.

Before *Purukupali* drowned himself, after the death of his son, *Djinini*, he told the *Pitipituis* that they must find their own mothers. Now, should one of these little people wish to become a human being, it travels to a native camp, and giving her name, asks one of the married men (when he is asleep) where its future mother is camping. After the father has indicated the particular wife, the little sprite waits a suitable opportunity to enter her vulva and start life as a human being.

The aborigines believe implicitly in the *Pitipituis* and the mystical origin of their children; several of them gave me details of how their children came to them in dreams.

Old *Tjamalampua* told of the time when, while he was asleep, the *mopaditi* of his dead father brought him a spirit child, and sat it on his knee saying, "This is your daughter." *Tjamalampua* directed the little *Pitipitui* to one of his wives, who later became its mother.

Muramajua described how his three children came to him.

(1) A boy, now dead, came from a Japanese plane[48] and asked for his wife as a mother. Later she felt the movements of the child.

(2) A little girl came to him in a dream and spat at him. His wife conceived soon afterwards.

(3) His last girl hit him on the head whilst he was asleep, and, in his fright, he slapped her face. It was not long afterwards that his wife became pregnant.

Those accounts indicate that although, ideally, the child comes to the father and asks for the mother, in actual practice they visit the father under a number of conditions.

[48] This aboriginal had worked with the Australian Navy during the war; an example of acculturation.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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Three bark paintings and a crayon drawing illustrate the beliefs of the Tiwi concerning the *Pitipinuis*.

The upper part of Pl. 46c, D, deals with the *Pitipinuis* at Purapundili, a low sandy island north-west of Cape Van Diemen, N.W. Melville Island, and the lower part with those at Unakumbi, on Buchanan Island.

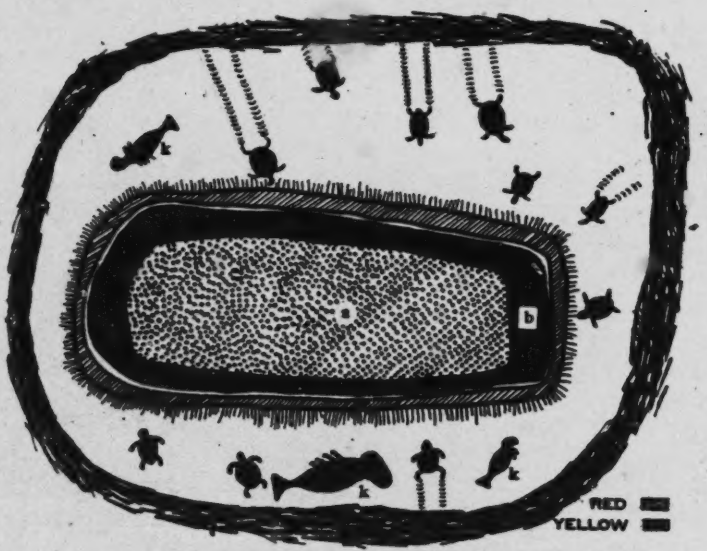

FIG. 13. *The Spirit People*
The Spirit Children, the Pitipinuis at Purapundili.

Purapundili, on which the *Pitipinuis* live, is at *a*; the circle *b* representing the waves breaking on the shores and the black oval, *c*, the surrounding ocean. As there is no shade at Purapundili, the *Pitipinuis* often paddle in their diminutive canoes to Imilu, at Cape Van Diemen, and shelter in the jungle from the heat, returning to Purapundili when the day becomes cooler.

Malumerinius said that when the aborigines visited this island to collect sea-gull eggs, they often saw the *Pitipinuis* at a distance, but if they, the aborigines, approached too closely, the little people disappeared.

Buchanan Island (Jurubulinai), another *Pitipinui* centre, is at *e*, the black circle *f*, indicating the waves breaking on the shore. Pandanus trees on

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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Jurubulinai are indicated at *n*, *n*, etc.; the short lines, as at *o*, *o*, etc., throughout the painting are the driftwood logs cast up on the beaches.

Fig. 13 is the copy of a crayon drawing again depicting *Pitipituis* on the sandy island of Purapundili.

The central rectangle, *a*, represents the grassy surfaces of the island, which are favourite nesting places of the sea-birds, and the black areas, *b*, the sticks and debris above the high tide mark. The outer shaded rectangle is the sandy shore, while the many short lines on its edge are the little *Pitipituis* of the island.

Dugongs are indicated at *k*, *k*, the other designs being female turtles coming on shore to lay their eggs. The tracks they make in the sand are indicated on six of the turtles. The outer oval symbolizes the open sea.

Pl. 46B pictures the two camps of the *Pitipituis* near Cape Fourcroy, S.W. Bathurst Island. One camp, called Jampatural, is in the forest on the sea coast, and another Jurilupa, in a dense jungle further inland. During the daytime, the *Pitipituis* from both localities hunt together in the forest and the jungle for food, but at night each group sleeps in its own camp.

The lower designs are the camps of the *Pitipituis* in the jungle at Jurilupa, and the upper designs, the camps of those at Jampaturai. The white ovals and the circles, represent the large leaves of the *dioni* yam which provide a shelter for the little people. The roads by which the *Pitipituis* travel from Juruna to their respective camps are indicated, and the open country near their camps is the plain ground.

Pl. 46A pictures the *Pitipituis* at Wulrungku (Karslake Island) and the *Biluwuwi*[44] who live at Milika, a group of rocks on the sea-bottom to the north of Wulrungku.

According to the aborigines, the *Pitipituis*, and the *Biluwuwis* are the same type of people, only some, i.e. the *Biluwuwis*, live under the water, and others, the *Pitipituis*, on the dry land, the jungles, and the pandanus swamps of Wulrungku.

The *Biluwuwis* and *Pitipituis* who often visit each other's camps, hunt the same foods as the aborigines but, having no fire, they must eat their foods raw.

The upper part of Pl. 46A pictures the homes of the *Biluwuwis* under the water, and the lower, the *Pitipituis* on Wulrungku.

The central vertical black panel on the upper section is the main track of the *Biluwuwis* and the branching lines, the paths leading to their many camps. The encircling white rings are the red rocks among which they live;

[44] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 231, refers to the home of the spirit children as Bilawuwi.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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532 the background is the sea. The white central transverse panel is the beach at Wulrungku.

776 The meaning of the designs on the lower panel are similar, the black central and branching lines representing the tracks made by the *Pitipituis* as they travel to and from their camps (the black discs); the encircling lines represent the sand around those camps, and the painted background, the jungle which shelters the little people.

3. THE PARAMANUAS[48]

776 The *Paramanuas* are short, particularly active, agile men, about three feet high, with thick, powerful limbs, tusk-like teeth, and projecting toe and finger nails.

In general, except for these details, they resemble the aborigines in appearance, eat the same foods and follow a similar way of life.

They live in many places throughout Melville and Bathurst Islands, but no one except those captured by the *Paramanuas*, has seen either them or [753] their homes. As they dislike being talked about, and often make those people [124] ill who do so, I found it somewhat difficult to gather information about the *Paramanuas*.

The homes of the *Paramanuas*, their wives and their children, are spacious underground caves, the entrances to which are openings either in the side of termite mounds, or hollow trees. In these caves, the men store their utensils, [343] weapons and food (Fig. 14). Their cooking fire, like that of the aborigines, is always outside of their camp.

776 Occasionally a *Paramanua*, wishing to befriend an aboriginal, will watch 787 him for some time. Then one day when the aboriginal is hunting by himself, the *Paramanua* will cast a spear at him. But, before the spear has reached its mark, the *Paramanua* will have caught it and, standing at the back of the aboriginal, will be tickling his ribs. The aboriginal, thoroughly scared, turns to strike his opponent, only to find him again at his back. This game goes on until the aboriginal is exhausted, dizzy and confused. Then hitting him on the side of the head with an open hand, rendering the aboriginal unconscious, the spirit man picks up the prostrate man and carries him to the underground home of the *Paramanuas*.

Awaking to find himself in a dark place, the aboriginal is terrified, but on receiving plenty of food from the *Paramanuas*, and treated with every kindness, the aboriginal loses all fear, and as the weeks go by, all sense of time.

[48] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 232, refer to these little people as Barminuar.

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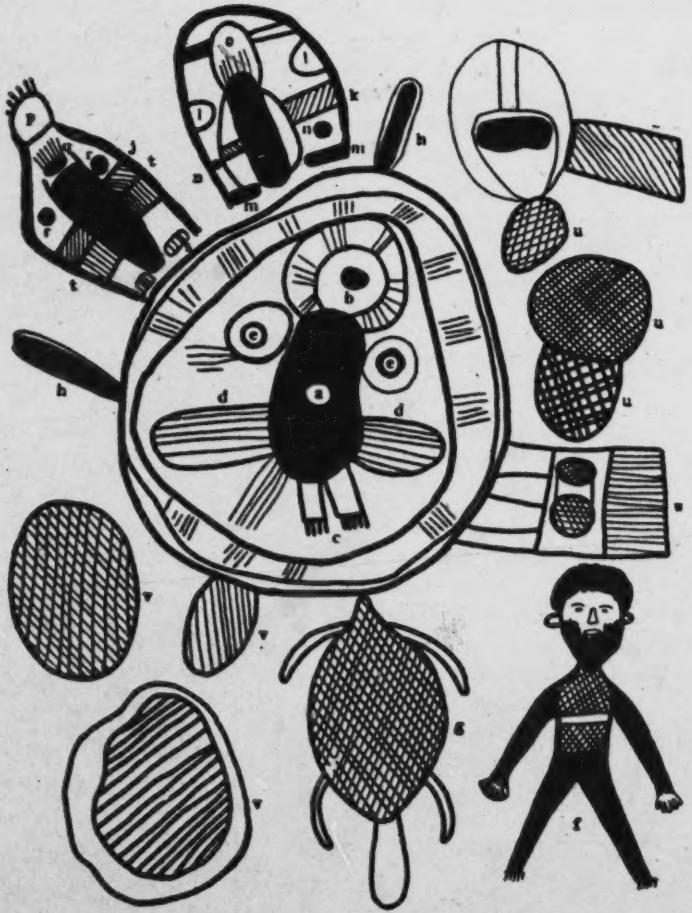

FIG. 14. *The Spirit People*
A Paramanua Man and his Family.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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After many weeks, the *Paramanua* takes the aboriginal to a forest close to his old camp and releases him, saying, "You're lucky to have been caught by a *Paramanua*. From now onward, if you don't tell anyone about me, and the things you have seen, I'll be your friend. I'll protect you in a fight; I'll chase game toward you so that you'll be known as a good hunter, and because I can see into the future, I'll make sure that you do not get into serious trouble."

To this, the aboriginal always agrees; but should he divulge the source of his good luck, his *Paramanua* guardian, who is always nearby, will either kill the aboriginal for his breach of faith or withdraw his protection.

Fig. 14 and Fig. 15, are copies of two crayon drawings of the *Paramanuas*, one (Fig. 15) being the work of a younger sophisticated aboriginal.

Fig. 14 deals with a *Paramanua* and his family at home in a termite mound. The central figure, *a*, is a conventionalized representation of a *Paramanua*. His face and head are at *b*, the radiating lines within the two circles indicating his hair. His feet are at *c*, and shoulder blades at *h*, *h*. I did not gather the interpretation of symbols *d*, *d*, but they may be his arms. The outer concentric circles are the walls of the termite mound and discs, *e*, *e*, the entrances to the *Paramanua's* home.

The *Paramanua* is shown again at *f*, in a more naturalistic form, the line across the fingers of the left hand indicating his long finger-nails. The interpretation of design *g*, was somewhat confused, some informants saying that it was a *Paramanua* woman, others that it was a turtle caught for food.

In the upper left is the son, *j*, and the daughter, *k*, of the *Paramanuas*. In these drawings the various parts of the body are separated[46] and have no relation to normal position or appearance.

The head of the son is at *p*, the upper radiating lines being his hair; *q*, is his mouth, the upper lines symbolizing the teeth; *r*, *r*, are two goose-feather balls, and *s*, *s*, his feet. The lines *t*, *t*, indicate his ribs.

On the right is the *Paramanua's* daughter. Her eyes are at *n*, *n*; her eyebrows at *m*, *m*; breasts at *l*, *l*, and her feet at *o*. The chevrons on either side of her body indicate her ribs. The cooking hearths of the *Paramanua* are at *v*, *v*, *v*; piles of rocks at *u*, *u*, *u*; and a jungle is at *w*.

In the middle of Fig. 15 is a *Paramanua* with a goose-feather ball, *tokwianga*, *b*, around his neck, and on the lower right at *a*, his camp in the middle of a large anthill. Within the camp are many foods and weapons; *c*,

[46] The separation of the parts of the body is not unusual in aboriginal art, Mountford, 1937, Fig. 2, illustrates a crayon drawing of the Ngadadjara tribe of the western Australian deserts, where these characteristics are present.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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is a seagoing turtle; *d*, a snake; *e*, a bandicoot; *f*, a lizard; *g*, a bark basket; *k*, a palm leaf (*tulini*) basket; *l*, a female, and *m*, a male *pukamuni* spear; and *n*, a multi-pronged fish spear. Another fish spear is at *p*, and a female *pukamuni* spear at *o*. At *r*, is a large-leafed climbing vine which provides a shade over the home of the *Paramanus* and *q* is a eucalyptus tree.

FIG. 15. *The Spirit People*
The Paramanus Man and his Camp.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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4. THE SEA-DOGS, THE WANKUIS

773 A fragment of a myth tells of how, at the close of the creation period, a mythical man, called *Kirinua*, assembled all the dogs and asked them whether they would prefer to live on the land or in the sea. The present-day dingos, the *Kirijunas*, chose the land, and others, the sea-dogs, *Wankuis*, the sand-banks in the sea.

●776 The home of one group of the sea-dogs is a long sand-bar on the eastern side of the entrance to Snake Bay, about a mile from the expedition camp, over which, except at the spring tides, the waves break continuously.
[823] The aborigines look on the breaking waves as the wagging tails of the *Wankuis*.

When the tide is out in the day-time and the sandbank exposed and dry, the sea-dogs, to escape being seen go to their camps under the sand.

When it is dark, the *Wankuis* leave their watery home, come on shore and make their camps in low caves at the base of a cliff at Snake Bay (Pl. 47*a*). While there, the *Wankuis* capture the sea-foods of the shallow waters, sting-rays, shell-fish and crabs. The aborigines claim that on the still nights they often hear the *Wankuis* barking.

In the shallow waters of a sandbar near Cape Fourcroy, the aborigines frequently see another kind of *Wankui* which walks on three legs, waving the fourth in the air.

*532 Pl. 47*b* pictures the *Wankuis* at the sandbar in Snake Bay. In the centre,
776 with many teats, is the mother surrounded by her twelve sons. It is significant that there was no mention of the father.

5. THE RAINBOW, MARATJI

171 A belief in a mythical serpent-like creature, which is associated with, or is,
776 the rainbow, and is dangerous to strangers, but not to the local inhabitants,
[821] occupies an important place, not only in the mythology of the Australian aborigines, but in the mythologies of people in many parts of the world. These mythical creatures are usually highly-coloured (like the rainbow), of huge size and have both mane and beard.

I have traced these mythical creatures, in their various forms, from the River Murray in South Australia, through Central Australia to Arnhem Land. In the western deserts of Central Australia, Mountford, 1948, p. 138, writes, "The snake (*wonambi*) is a huge, many-coloured creature with a
[778] mane and a beard. It is feared . . . because it attacks all strangers who approach

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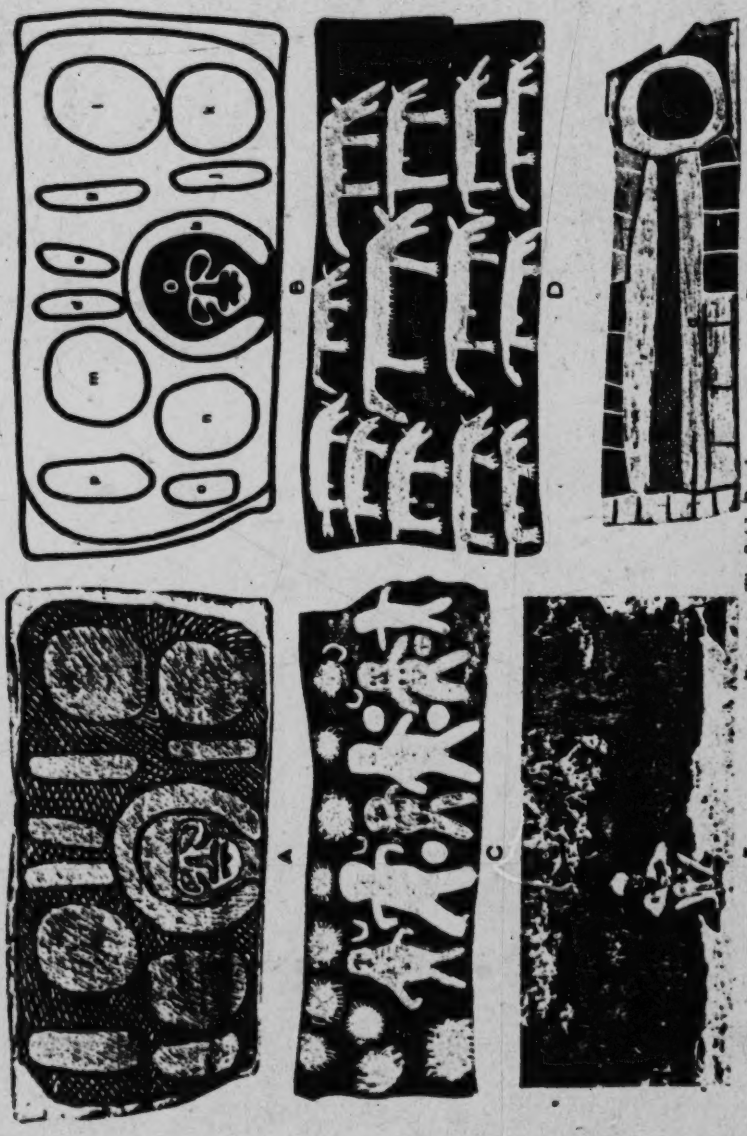

PLATE 47. *The Spirit People*
A, B, Spirits of the Dead, Mopadlitji; C, F, Meteor-men, Papinjuwarli; D, Sea-dogs, Wankutji; E, Caves, Homes of Wankuti.

[p. 154 A]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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PLATE 48. *The Spirit People*

A, B, The Rainbow-spirit, Maratji, at Kulimbini; C, Maratji at Maundu; D, Maratji, at Goose Creek.

[p. 154 B]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the water in which it lives, usually calling with a deep booming note. The rainbow serpent . . . is related . . . to water, rainbow . . ." The rainbow-serpent myth is widespread throughout Arnhem Land. At Oenpelli (Mountford, 1956, p. 210), "mythical serpents live in deep waterholes. . . . The aborigines are . . . afraid of these mythical creatures for should anyone interfere with their . . . home, the serpents, particularly *Ngaloit*, will make their waterholes overflow and drown everyone. The rainbow-serpent woman, *Narama*, of the Liverpool River area . . . destroys all aborigines who approach her home."

In north-eastern Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 462; Warner, 1937, p. 541) the rainbow-serpents live, in one form or another in most of the important water-holes; they are associated with water, the rainbow, lightning, and thunder. Again these serpents are usually highly coloured (like the rainbow), and have a mane and beard. The aborigines claim that they are dangerous to all strangers who approach their waterholes, and even to local aborigines who do not perform the proper rituals before drinking. On Groote Eylandt (Mountford, 1956, p. 75), however, it is a lizard, the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja*, which takes the place of the rainbow-serpent. It is highly coloured, about one hundred feet in length, has long hair on its head and whiskers on its lower jaw. It lives in a swamp, called Numarika, on south-western Groote Eylandt. Should anyone drink from this swamp, they will surely die. *Ipilja-ipilja* is associated with thunder, thunderstorms, and rain, but not, as far as I could ascertain, with the rainbow.

The lizard-like *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands[47] have many of the characteristics of the gekko, *Ipilja-ipilja* of Groote Eylandt[48] as well as the rainbow serpents of the Central Australian deserts, and Oenpelli, in Arnhem Land.

The *Maratjis* are highly coloured lizards, the males being up to one hundred yards in length, with horns on their heads instead of hair, and long projecting jaws in the place of beards.

Should any unauthorized person interfere with their waterholes, the *Maratjis* become annoyed. They roar loudly, make the water bubble up (like the Oenpelli serpent, Mountford, 1956, p. 210), and send a waterspout into the air which, falling as torrential rain, floods the countryside. One of the *Maratjis* then changes himself into the rainbow and travels across the land seeking to injure the offender or anyone else in its path.

[47] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 231, refers to *Maratji* as the rainbow snake.

[48] It is of interest to note that on isolated places, such as Groote Eylandt and Melville Island, these mythical creatures resemble lizards, and on the Australian mainland, and in most other places in the world, they take the form of snakes.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The *Maratjis* belong to the totem of *Andjaki* (fresh water), in common with *Pakadinga* (thunderstorms), *Tomituka* (monsoon rain) and *Bumerali* (lightning). They are mortal creatures who die and disintegrate like everything else (Pl. 48D).

I collected bark paintings and crayon drawings of a number of *Maratjis*, living with their wives and families in three lagoons on Melville and Bathurst Islands, i.e., Maundu, southern Bathurst Island, and Kulimbini, north-western, and Maratjiana, northern Melville Island.

The *Maratjis* of Melville and Bathurst Islands are not always of the same temperament. For instance, the *Maratjis* who live at Kulimbini (Pl. 48A) are so dangerous that should any aboriginal dare approach their water, they will steal his *imunka* (spirit), and he will die.

Although the *Maratjis* of Maundu (Pl. 48C) are feared, it is possible, if certain rituals are performed, for even a stranger to drink the water without harm; while those who live in the Maratjiana lagoon at Goose Creek, are looked upon by the aborigines as "properly quiet fellow".[49]

The rainbow, as a *Maratji*, however, is universally feared, the aborigines believing that the primary bow is the *imunka* (spirit) of a male, and the secondary bow, that of a female *Maratji*.

If a rainbow goes too near an aboriginal camp, the occupants will quickly build up their fire[50] and call out to frighten *Maratji* away, but should he come too close, the people will feel ill and break out into a cold perspiration. If an aboriginal is overtaken by a rainbow,[51] it will kill him by taking his spirit.

Should some aboriginal be so foolish as to throw a spear at a rainbow and injure it, the *Maratjis* would destroy the whole country and the people who live in it.

Two heavy wind-storms, which occurred whilst the expedition was at Melville Island, were supposed to have been caused by angry *Maratjis*. The first was due to some foolish aboriginal who broke a *kulama* ceremony taboo (p. 142) by throwing some of the termite mound from the *kulama* oven into the sea. The second happened when a *pukamuni* pole, taken from a grave by one of the senior officers of the Native Affairs Branch, was being loaded on a boat for transport to Darwin.

The aborigines explained that as these poles are a gift from the living to

[49] Further research will no doubt reveal other waterholes on Melville and Bathurst Islands, inhabited by *Maratjis*.

[50] This would suggest that *Maratji*, like the *Wonambi* of the Central Australian deserts, is afraid of fire (Mountford, 1948, p. 138).

[51] These conditions are, of course, impossible because the rainbow is always several feet from the observer.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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the dead, they should never be taken from him. *Maratji* was so angry over this white man's act of sacrilege that he created a heavy storm to sink the boat and so prevent the theft.

The Maratjis at Maundu

Maundu, a freshwater lagoon on the south-western shores of Bathurst Island is the home of many *Maratjis*, males, females and children, under a leader called *Orini*. The water which flows from the lagoon, across the beach into the sea, is reddish in colour. This, according to the aborigines, is stained by the faeces of the *Maratjis*.

The aborigines of the adjoining *Mandubuka* totem are the only people safe from the attacks of the *Maratjis* of Maundu. To protect a stranger who has to go near Maundu, one of the local men, wiping the perspiration from his own armpits, rubs it over his companion.

The familiar body odour misleads the *Maratjis*, who do not attack the newcomer. Should this strange aboriginal have to cross the stream that flows from Maundu to the sea, a local man first makes the water muddy, then, walking through it instructs the stranger to step in his tracks. The stranger must recompense his guide for this protection. Should the stranger become thirsty and none of the local men are with him, he can safely drink at Maundu if he first makes the water muddy. At the *pukamuni* ceremony of *Waniamperi* which we witnessed at Melville Island, an elderly aboriginal, *Jibunglialumi*, whose nose had been eaten away by yaws, attributed his deformity to the attack of a *Maratji* because he drank from the clear, not the muddy water, of Maundu.

Even when a group of local aborigines has to pass the Maundu lagoon, they travel in single file, the elder men first, the younger men next, then the women and children, each adult placing his feet exactly in the footmarks of the person in front. No woman, during the period of her menses, must go near Maundu. If she did, *Maratji* would kill her. There are good ochres of many colours at Maundu but no one will use them. Tradition tells of an aboriginal, called *Alumgun*, who lost his life because he disregarded this taboo.

One side of a female *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 48c (indicated by the central hole), deals with the myth of *Maratji* at Maundu.

The central hole in the basket is the freshwater lagoon, Maundu; the radiating lines, *a*, *a*, etc., are the *Maratjis* and those at *b*, *b*, etc., strips of white sand on the bottom of the lagoon. The darker circles indicate the red (stained) water which runs from the lagoon, across the beach, into the sea, and the

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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lighter, the bubbles of water (supposed to be caused by the *Maratjis*), which rise from the bottom of the lagoon. The cross-hatching represents a grass which grows on the shores of Maundu.

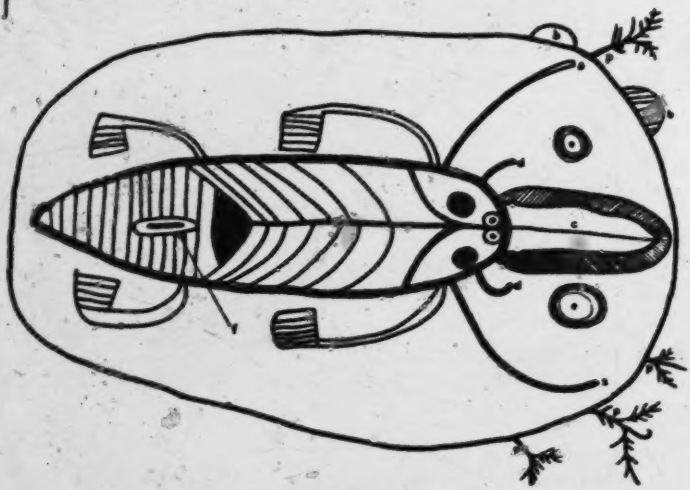

FIG. 16. *The Spirit People*
The Rainbow-spirit, Maratji.

Fig. 16, the copy of a crayon drawing of *Maratji*, was the work of a sophisticated aboriginal who had been employed for some years in Darwin. It shows a young female *Maratji*, a lizard-like creature measuring about fifty feet, with two long horns, *a*, *a*, and two short horns, *d*, *d*, projecting from her head. At *c*, are both her tongue and lower jaw; *f*, is her vulva, and circles *e*, *e*, show the bubbles of water which rise to the surface when she becomes annoyed.

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The outer oval is the shore of Maundu, the designs, *p*, *p*, etc., are trees, and *b*, *b*, piles of rocks on the shore.

The Maratjis at Kulimbini

On Pl. 48A, the long central black rectangle is the body of a female *Maratji* at Kulimbini, north-western Melville Island. The six encircling rectangles are the colours of the *imunka* (spirit) of *Maratji*, i.e., the rainbow, and the dark-coloured spaces at the top and bottom of the design, the falling rain.

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Pl. 48B does not deal with the myth, but the natural features of Kulimbini lagoon, in which the *Maratjis* live. The central black dot symbolizes an area of blue water-lilies in the lagoon, and the white circles, the surrounding water. The diagonal lines, *b*, *b*, etc., indicate the Kulimbini creek, and the rectangles, *a*, *a*, *a*, the broken water of the stream as it flows among the stones of its rocky bed. The short black panels and the two black rectangles indicate a grass with an edible bulb (probably the spike rush) that grows in the shallow water. The chevrons on the outer part of the design represent dead leaves lying on the grass, and those within the first and second inner rectangles, *a*, *a*, a red-coloured algae found along the edge of the still water.

The Maratjis at Maratjiana, Goose Creek

Pl. 54A pictures a large freshwater stream, called Maratjiani, on the northern end of the Goose Creek swamps.

The meandering lines on the right and left hand edge and the central vertical panel are freshwater creeks, and the outer vertical panels, two *Maratjis* who live in them. The short, transverse panels are rocks along the banks of the stream and the dots, dry land covered with grass.

Pl. 48D pictures the skeleton of a *Maratji*, which the artist claimed had died in a swamp to the north-east of Maratjiana. At present there are no remains, they have all disintegrated.

The bulk of the skeleton is at *a*, the backbone at *b*, the ribs are shown by the radiating lines at the top and the vertical panels at the bottom; the jaw is at *c*. The dotted background symbolizes the many-coloured skin of the dead *Maratji*.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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CHAPTER VII

The Astronomy of the Tiwi

THE Tiwi's knowledge of the night sky does not appear to be as extensive as that of the aborigines of the adjoining Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, Part 6).

Although myths relating to the sun, the moon, the Milky Way, the stars and Orion and the Pleiades were often told, I was unable to find any relating to the Southern Cross, Scorpio, the Magellan Clouds and other constellations well-known to the aborigines of Arnhem Land.

The Universe

The Tiwi believe that the earth is flat, and so limited in area that, if they travel far from the shores of their tribal country, they would fall over the edge. As evidence of this they point out that, in the morning they can see *Wuriupranala*, the sun-woman, rise above the eastern rim and, at the end of the day, disappear beneath the western rim of the world.

The earth, too, is of limited thickness, the aborigines believing that, if they dug a hole sufficiently deep they would reach the lower world, *Ilara*.[66]

The aboriginal universe of the Tiwi consists of four levels, (*a*) a subterranean world, Ilara, (*b*) the earth on which the aborigines live, (*c*), the sky-land, Juwuku, and (*d*) an upper world, Tuniruna.

On Ilara where it is always dark, there are two high stony ranges with a valley between. It is along this valley that the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, and according to some informants, the moon-man, *Tjapare*, guided only by the light of their glowing torch of bark, travel each day from the western horizon to their homes in the east. As there are no plants or animals on Ilara, the celestial travellers cannot gather any food during their underground journey, although they can quench their thirst at a stream which flows from the top of one of the high mountains.

During the wet season, *Pakadringa*, the man of the thunderstorms; *Tomituka*, the woman of the monsoon rains; *Bumerali*, the lightning woman, with her husband and her many children, make their home on the sky-land,

[66] I did not find a belief among the Melville Islanders, like that of the aborigines of Groote Eylandt, that the earth was a thin crust resting on the top of the water. (Mountford, 1956, p. 67.)

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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Juwuku; while the sun-woman, the men of the Milky Way, the star women and the moon-man (except for a short period each month) travel daily across its surface.

Above the sky is another world, Tuniruna. This is the day-time home of numberless star women, the *Tapalinga*, and the men of the Milky Way, the *Mahdaimini*. During the dry season, *Pakadringa*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali*, with her family leave the sky-world, Juwuku, and make their homes in Tuniruna.

Unlike the Ilara, the lowest world, Tuniruna resembles the earth except that there is no sea, although there are many freshwater streams and swamps. All the creatures and plants that live on Melville Island, with the exception of the saltwater fish, are also at Tuniruna.

Every morning the inhabitants of the upper world leave their camps, the women to gather the plant foods of the forest, the men to hunt and capture the creatures, such as freshwater fish and the geese, ducks, pelicans and jabirus, that live in the extensive swamps. Also, many fruits grow at Tuniruna, some of which were specifically named, i.e., *rakarina*, the wild plum; *tauraruina*, the white-fruited eugenia; *kinamia*, the red-fruited eugenia; *putatakuma*, a small egg-shaped fruit about three-eighths of an inch long; *kwerka*, cycad fruit, and the various yams.

By the time the sun-woman has sunk below the western horizon and extinguished her torch, the inhabitants of Tuniruna, the upper world, have returned from their foodgathering and are lighting their camp-fires to cook the food they have brought in. The light from these fires illuminates the upper world as brightly during the night-time as the sun-woman, with her blazing torch, illuminates the earth during the day-time.

About November, *Pakadringa*, *Tomituka* and *Bumerali* leave Tuniruna and travel from place to place in the sky-world, shedding rain on the parched earth. During this time, the aborigines claim that those with good hearing can distinguish a low "Sh . . . sh . . .", the pleasure call of the thirsty trees as their roots drink the moisture from the sodden ground. It is then that the trees and plants of the upper world, using the raindrops as a vehicle, send their spirits (analogous to the human *Pitipituis*) (p. 146), to the ground beneath, where they grow into plants similar to their progenitors in the upper world.[87] That is, all the plants and trees in the land of the Tiwi were once, as tiny spirits, dropped from the upper world, Tuniruna.

[87] I did not specifically inquire whether the creatures in the upper world also sent down their spirits in the same manner as the plants. However, as both plants and human beings have a spirit origin, it is reasonable to assume that the creatures originate in a similar manner. Further research on this subject will be of considerable interest.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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824 This belief probably accounts for the fact that I did not hear any songs chanted, or witness any ceremonies (with the possible exception of the *kulama*) that would bring about a plentiful supply of food. Nor did I hear [171] of any increase centres such as I saw on Groote Eylandt, (Mountford, 1956, pp. 84, 91), and were seen by Spencer and Gillen (1899, p. 166), and myself (1948, p. 145) in Central Australia.

The Sky and the Upper World

×532. 821 772 Pl. 63D is a bark painting of the sky and the upper world, Tuniruna. The central series of concentric circles represent an unidentified planet, one of the wives of *Tjapara*, the moon-man; the designs, *d*, *d*, *d*, *d*, are some of the stars, *Tapalinga*; *f*, *f*, are the plum trees (already mentioned), which grow in the upper world. The radiating lines are the limbs of the plum trees.

The inner square, *b*, is the upper world, Tuniruna, the chevron patterns are the clouds in the sky, and the outer square the surface of the earth.

The groups of dots, throughout the painting, are the spirit fruits of the many trees at Tuniruna, which (as mentioned earlier), fall from the upper world to the earth beneath.

The Sun-woman, Wuriupranala

773 776 A myth, belonging to the early creation period, tells of how *Wuriupranala*, one of the first women, was given the task of keeping alight a torch of blazing bark. When, after the *pukamuni* of *Purukupali*, the men and women changed themselves into creatures and plants, *Wuriupranala* became the sun-woman, who travels daily across the sky, her torch of blazing bark providing the world with light and heat.

776 821 However, before *Wuriupranala* sets out from the eastern horizon, she powders her body with red ochre, the dust of which flying into the air, reddens the clouds of early morning.

When she reaches the western horizon, *Wuriupranala* again powders her body (this accounts for the brilliant sunsets), extinguishes her torch and rests for a while beside a celestial lagoon, Kumpinulu, before returning to the east along a path through the subterranean world, Ilara. On this journey, she is guided only by the light from the glowing end of her smouldering torch.[58]

×532 773 776 821 Three bark paintings, Pl. 60A, B, Pl. 61A, B, and Pl. 63A, B, deal with the myth of the sun-woman.

The designs on one side of a *pukamuni* basket, Pl. 61A, B, picture the sun, moon and stars.

[58] See pp. 35, 40 for more details of the sun-woman.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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The crescent, *e*, symbolises the eastern horizon, beneath which both the sun-woman and moon-man have their camps; the transverse panels, *j*, *j*, *j*, indicate the western horizon.

The disc, *b*, is the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, while the black dot in the centre is her life essence, *imunka* (p. 137).

The sun-woman again is represented by the white disc, *s*, on the upper edge. This time she has several of the blazing torches, *m*, *n*, which she carries across the sky. Her many camps in the east are at *p*, *p*, etc. (lower edge).

The white oval, *h* (upper centre), is the moon-man, *Tjapara*, with his torches, shown as a series of radiating lines. Crescent, *g*, is the waxing, *f*, the waning moon, and the three adjacent squares, *e*, *e*, *e*, are places in the east where the moon-man made his camps. The cross-hatched areas, *p*, *k*, etc., indicate the men of the Milky Way, *Maludaienini*, and the groups of dots, such as *t*, the star-women, *Tapalingas*. At *o* (upper right) is an unidentified celestial tree.

Pl. 60A, B, pictures two suns, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala*,[80] the moon, *Tjapara* and the stars, *Tapalinga*.

One of the sun-women, *Wuriupranala*, is shown at *f* (upper edge) the circle of radiating lines, *g*, symbolizing the flames of her bark torch. At *h*, on the bottom of the painting, is the other sun-woman, *Murupiangkala* with her bark torch, *j*. The moon-man, *Tjapara*, is at *b*, his head at *e*, his shoulders at *c*, and his genitals at *d*.

The oval at *k* (upper right), is a mountain in the east from the top of which *Wuriupranala* or *Murupiangkala* alternately set out on their daily journey across the sky. The white oval at *l* (upper left) indicates the mountain on the western horizon where the sun-women rest for a while before they travel to the Kumpinulu lagoon, and prepare and eat their meal before returning to the east via the underground road, *m* (upper left).

The designs on the lower edge of the painting deal with the journey of the sun-woman, *Murupiangkala*; the white design *o*, is the mountain in the east from which she sets out on her journey across the sky; *p* represents the mountain in the west where she finishes her journey.

At *a*, *a*, etc., are the wives of *Tjapara*, the planets, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars. Black ovals, *s*, *s*, are dark-coloured rain clouds, and ovals, *q*, *q*, clouds reddened by sunrise and sunset light. The dots are the star-women, the *Tapalingas*, the wives of the men of the Milky Way.

Pl. 63A, B, deals with the sky journey of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

[80] The artist claimed that two sun-women travelled alternately across the sky. This however, was not the dominant belief.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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At *c*, is the sun-woman with her *imunka* (life essence) (see Pl. 61A, B). Her palm-leaf baskets are at *u* and *r* (left); her hair-string belts at *k*, *v* (bottom); a dingo-skin hair ornament is at *s* (left), and her head at *m* (top left).

The place where the sun woman appears above the eastern horizon is indicated at *f* (bottom) with her mid-day camp at *g*. There she makes a fire, *e* (the four radiating lines being the firewood), and cooks the food she has collected during the morning. Black rain clouds are indicated at *d*, and a thin cloud, which partly obscures the sun, at *h*.

The upper section of the painting deals with the evening camp *o*, of the sun-woman. Her fire and firewood are at *p*, *q*.

At *n*, on the upper left, is the daughter of the sun-woman (an unidentified star), the central dot at *m*, symbolizing her eye.

The Moon-man, Tjapara

At the conclusion of the fight between the moon-man, *Tjapara* and *Purukupali*, during creation times, the moon-man went up to the sky, bearing on his face the wounds he received at the hands of *Purukupali*.[60]

It was then *Purukupali* decreed that the whole of creation once dead, would remain dead for ever. However, *Tjapara*, the moon-man, partly escaped that decree, for, although he dies for three days every month, his life is eternally renewed.

As soon as *Tjapara* comes to life, he eats huge meals of the flesh of the mangrove crabs, which makes him grow fat and round at the end of a fortnight. However, this food makes him so ill that he sickens and dies.

The aborigines look upon the thin crescent of the waning moon as the skeleton of *Tjapara*,[61] and the body of the moon (visible by earth shine) as his spirit, *imunka*.

During his daily journey across the sky, the moon-man follows the same path as the sun-woman. He, however, carries a much smaller torch.

At one time the moon-man used to return to the east by a road just under the southern horizon. But a nest of hornets, which lived along that road, stung him so badly that he changed his path and now returns to his home by a northern route.[62]

The moon has four wives who live in the sky with him. They are the

[60] See p. 29 for details of the fight between *Purukupali* and *Tjapara*.

[61] A larval form of one of the cockroaches which curls up into an almost complete circle, is called *Tjaparulinga*, the son of the moon.

[62] Most informants, however, said that the moon returned to the east through the same underground world as the sun-woman.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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planets, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter and Mars. My informants were certain, however, that *Tjapara* had many more wives in his eastern camp.

When a ring forms around the moon, during moist weather, the aborigines believe the moon-man is taking part in a *kulama* ceremony. The ring is the mound of earth around the ceremonial circle, the *milimika* (p. 134), inside of which a multitude of star people are dancing and singing the *kulama* songs.

Two bark paintings illustrate the myth of the moon, Pl. 61C, D, and Pl. 62D.

On Pl. 61C, D, one side of a *pukamuni* basket illustrates the moon and the clouds.

In the centre, at *b*, is the crescent moon, *Tjapara*, the black oval, *a*, indicating his genitals. The monsoon clouds, *tarutapitjina* (cumulus-nimbus) of the wet season are indicated by the six black circles, *c*, *c*, etc., and cumulus clouds, *kumbaratina*, by the three circles on the left-hand side at *e*, *e*, *e*. The older aborigines referred to these clouds as hills in the sky. The intersecting lines, *d*, *d*, etc., are "young" cumulus clouds, which, when they appear in the sky at the beginning of the wet season, remind the natives it is time to search the trees of the forest for the hives of the wild bees.

The surface of the ground is indicated by the long rectangle, *g*, on the lower edge, and the place of the stars, by the groups of dots at *f*, *f*, etc.

Pl. 62D pictures the moon-man, *Tjapara*, and his many wives.

The central circle is the full moon, the lighter coloured crescents and ovals being the white clouds that sometimes obscure the moon at night; the dark-coloured, but similar designs are the clouds made yellow with the sunset light. The white circles are the planets, the wives of the moon man, and the dots, the stars, the wives of the men of the Milky Way.

The Moon and the Stars

Pl. 62C is a painting of the night sky. The crescent, *b*, is the new moon, *Tjapara*, and the white vertical panel, the road, along which he travels.

The larger circle on the right hand of the painting represents the morning star, probably Venus, and that on the left, the evening star. The many smaller circles are unidentified stars in the night sky. These are the wives of the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*.

The Men of the Milky Way

In creation times, certain men, the *Maludaianinis*, although each had many wives, were always sneaking off into the jungle with the wives of other men.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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773 This behaviour led to a great deal of trouble, developing later into a fight in which many of the *Maludaianini* men were wounded.

After that fight, the *Maludaianini* men rose into the sky and became the Milky Way; their wives were turned into stars.

● 776 821 When the sun-woman sinks beneath the western horizon, and the light from the blazing torch leaves the sky, the *Maludaianini* travel in a long line across the firmament (similar to the processional caterpillars at the beginning of the wet season), visiting their wives, the stars, as they go.

[827] Early in the evening the men of the Milky Way rub their hands over their bodies to remove the dried perspiration. This dried perspiration, falling on the eyelids of the aboriginal people, make them heavy with sleep.[65]

x 532 776 821 Three bark paintings, Pl. 60D, Pl. 62A, and Pl. 63C, illustrate the myth of the men of the Milky Way.

The black bars between *c*, *c*, and *c*, *c*, Pl. 60D, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*; the white disc, *a*, being their camp, while similar white designs, *b*, *b*, indicate the camps of their star wives.

The central white panel, *d*, is the Milky Way; the dark squares, *e*, *c*, etc., are the red clouds at sunrise and sunset, the dark-coloured vertical panels on either side of *d*, white cumulus clouds at night, and the six black discs, dark-coloured clouds, in the night sky.

Pl. 62A is another painting of the Milky Way. The circles with the radiating lines are the camp fires of the stars, the background being the shadows cast by those fires. The Coal Sack in which there are no fires, is the camp of the star women.[66]

The lighter panels, leading from the upper left to the lower right, are the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaianini*, the darker panels, from upper right to lower left, indicate the night sky.

Reading from the left on the lower edge, panels one, three and five symbolize cumulus clouds, *Kumbaratina*, of the night sky, and two, four and six, unidentified clouds, called *aratinia*.

The dotted panels on Pl. 63C represent the men of the Milky Way, the barred panels, the "roads", i.e., dark spaces, in the galaxy, and the five horizontal panels, eucalyptus trees in the firmament.

[855] [65] The aboriginal women, to the accompaniment of a lullaby, send their children to sleep by rubbing their fingers together above the face of the child in the same manner as the *Maludaianini* do in the sky.

[66] The Coal Sack is visible at Melville Island only during the hot "wet" season, i.e. from November to March. This had given rise to the belief that the star-women, who make their camp within that heavenly spectacle, do not need fires. The same belief accounts for the fact that, within the Coal Sack there are no stars (the camp-fires of the star-women).

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Orion and the Pleiades

Pl. 6a1 illustrates the myth of Orion and the Pleiades. In the astronomical myth Orion, *a*, is a pack of dingoes, called *dalimini*, who are for ever chasing the *Pleiades*, *b*, a group of wallabies, *karaka*.

The black vertical lines on either side of *a*, and *b*, starless spaces in the Milky Way, *Maludaianini*, are the trunks of celestial bloodwood trees; the short lines at right-angles, their limbs, and the dots on the background, the many spider-webs on their branches.

The large outer ovals, unidentified parts of the Milky Way, are patches of bare and grass-covered land of the sky, and the eight discs on the insides of the ovals, some of the larger stars.

Discussion

There is a wide difference between the astronomical myths of Melville Island and those of the adjacent mainland. Nor do the Melville Islanders have such a detailed knowledge of the night sky as the tribes of Arnhem Land (Mountford, 1956, p. 479). This fact suggests, as do other aspects of the culture, that the natives of Melville Island have been isolated from the mainland cultures for a long time.

The effects of this isolation are most evident in two of the sky myths, i.e., the Milky Way, and the constellations of Orion and the Pleiades.

Throughout Australia, with few exceptions, the Milky Way is looked upon as a celestial river, along which the sky people travel in their canoes, and gather their food (Mountford, 1956, p. 491). No trace of this widespread myth is present on Melville Island, the Milky Way being a multitude of caterpillar men, the *Maludaianini*.

Similarly with Orion and the Pleiades. In the Australian mainland myths, Orion is a man or men, and the Pleiades, a group of women, more often than not, the wives of the men of Orion.

In the place of this widespread myth, the Melville Islanders look upon the stars of Orion as a group of dingoes chasing the Pleiades, a mob of wallabies.

Even in the myth of the moon-man, there is a reversal of the adjacent Arnhem Land beliefs. In Arnhem Land, it was the moon who brought death to the world (Mountford, 1956, p. 495; Warner, 1937, p. 523). On Melville Island, it is the moon-man, *Tjapara*, who tries to stop *Purukupali* from imposing death on all living creatures.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

An interesting thing in the Kulama is that at that ritual a man must not touch his wives or children, because a deadly sweat called *kilamini* comes from his body and will cause any of his nearest who touch it to die.[7]

Another small ritual is the Miringaleta, a puberty custom for girls; it is connected with the Rainbow snake and is also a marriage ceremony. Last of all comes the Pukamane, a death ritual, the purpose of which is to "lay the shade," *ennkeɔ* of the deceased person and send it back to its clan centre from its wandering around the bush in an endless "walkabout."[8] The "shade" is said to leave the body after a period when the joints begin to crack (the natives call this *Yatarahu*); it then immediately hurries to the various camps, emitting a strange cry, "oom—oom." By this sound—the cry of a night bird—the natives know a person has died.

Culture Heroes. They have culture heroes: Purakapale and with him are the "dream time" heroes, Mudarti (the Kurakun of the subincized people), the wedge-tailed hawk, and numerous others all linked together in the legends of long ago; Kuparani, the frill necked lizard and his sister Ikaikgini, the black cockatoo, are characters in the incest tales.

There are also heroes who produced things and turned into animal form, Irakapa, the alligator, the maker and "boss" of the ceremonial spear—*Tumereka*. Rokama, the mosquito, the headman of the ordinary mangrove spear (*Orati*) which is used for everyday work. In making this he copied the speargrass, *Marakarti*.

The Present Day Spirits. Some spirits vitally affect their present lives. Papinowari, or Lamparapari, the destroyer—expressing in a milder form the *Kadaitja* theory of the central natives. Kala is also an ordinary spirit, in fact a shade of a departed native of prowess in the past, who is on the "walkabout." Barminuar is a quaint elusive spirit—an island Peter Pan—who never grows old, and is about the size of a small boy. He is always up to mischief; many tales are recounted of natives meeting with him and always finding him "too clever." In one place they showed me a tree where such a spirit had entered, not through a hole in the trunk, but had just passed through it, splitting it open; the split is there now.[9] The rain spirit is Pakadringa. The lightning is caused by his wife Bumarali, whose axe splits the trees. His other wife, Tomakaka, is the monsoon and when it begins the natives know it is she by the sighs (the hiss of the wind in those rains).

Magic. Their magic is somewhat the same as in other tribes. The idea differs slightly in that with them the aim is to bring the destroyer, Lamparapari, upon the victim. This is done by burning a piece of blood—a hard piece which has dried up—and letting the wind carry the smell to the victim. The latter becomes affected because Lamparapari is attracted by this smell and sucks out his blood.

[7] The name for ordinary sweat is *kulumpara*. It is interesting to compare the Anula belief; if a person is sung with magic, a white exudation appears on the skin, with deadly effect.

[8] These people have no idea of reincarnation; in their view, a spirit is eternal but is never reborn.

[9] Trees often burst like this owing to being hollow and full of water or dirt, the pressure of which bursts them open. This could have given rise to the story.

123 For a while we all stretched our legs walking up the sandy bank of the river until mangrove roots stopped our progress.

[226] Once back in the canoe, Albert took over my place in the bow and with his fish-spear poised he kept a watchful eye on the deep green waters. Once he spied a barramundi and cautiously directed Big Jack to paddle towards the large fish, but it glided out of reach.

About a half mile up the river we came upon the shaded glen of casuarinas, another camping spot with its fresh-water well, named Anderaningo. Here instead of Black Joe's mob we found the Superintendent, Bill Grimster, his son Billy, and two natives, Billy-Two and Brownie. Black Joe's mob had arrived the afternoon before and had been ferried the ten miles up river to the next camping spot in the motor launch. Bill Grimster, having been told by Black Joe that he had seen our smoke near Piriu, knew that we had camped there, and he came back down river with an invitation for me to join them for a night of crocodile hunting before they returned to Snake Bay.

225 For many people in this area, hunting the large salt-water crocodile is a profession or a sought-after sport. In both cases it is dangerous, for this particular species of crocodile is intimidated by nothing and frequently will attack men or beasts without provocation. The crocodiles, which often measure twenty feet in length, [773] occupy a prominent place in the myths, legends, and art of the Tiwi, and many are the true-life tales of people who have lost their [538] lives in battling these beasts, which are hunted by the natives for their meat and valuable skins. When one considers the size of the animals and the size of the canoes, it is no wonder that Bill had discouraged any requests of mine to accompany them. So this invitation was a most welcome and pleasant surprise.

123 I transferred to the launch for the up-river camp so that I would be in time to leave on the hunt at dusk. For the first six miles the river wound seemingly aimlessly through the deep, dank, and mysterious mangrove swamps. At times the branches almost met across the water, brightly colored birds flitted from branch to branch and a subdued splash indicated a crocodile disturbed from his after- [776] noon slumber on the muddy bank. Adding to this almost evil atmosphere were strange clacking and sucking noises emanating from

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

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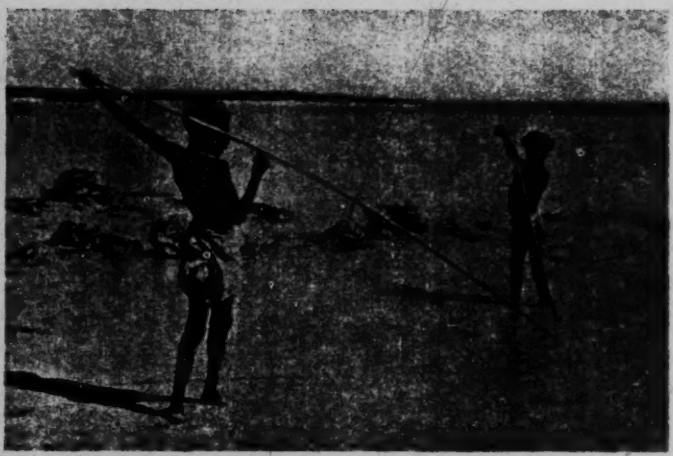

Fig. 9. Two young hunters practicing with fish-spears

123 the impenetrable jungle, which were attributed to the *Ningawi*, the
[776] weird and mysterious "little people" of the mangrove. Rounding a curve in the river, we surprised a flock of whistle ducks sitting on an exposed mudbank. Young Billy tried to shoot one for supper but missed, and soon they were well out of range. On a rare piece of solid ground we saw the long tail and massive hips of a startled
[136] wallaby as he hopped to safety. However, a successful throw of the fish-spear brought us a large barramundi, and the .22 rifle provided both a possum and a fruit bat, or flying fox, for supper.

All of a sudden the mangroves disappeared and our view was
[137] no longer restricted to the river bank; rather we gazed through thick, gnarled white paperbarks on the water's edge to wide expanses of marshy grasslands. A few flocks of black and white geese, which had returned to the swamps early in the evening, were startled by the sound of the motor and rose honking in fright.

About five, we reached Minianapi, a landing place about fifteen yards wide, where solid ground reached the river bank. We were